1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
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224 ily narrowed as it drew near. They started hundreds of gazelles that fled past us, but Sheykh Tai' and his men shot only a few of the fat bucks in their midst.

During the day's hunting, our party gave chase to fifteen wolves, of which nine were killed. One of them had made a kill of two gazelle kids, whose remains were still lying about. The mother, who perhaps at first had fled, returned and stood near by, bleating, as gazelles will. I could not bear the pitiful cries of the poor animal and gave her the *coup de grâce* with a bullet. It was the only gazelle I have ever shot, for I could never bring myself to kill these beautiful, graceful creatures.

It was evening before our body of huntsmen, laden with booty, arrived back in camp.

574 Three days after the wolf-hunt a slave of Mishal ibn Faris, Chief of the Shammar Bedouins, arrived, with an invitation to me from his master to visit him and his tribe, which was then camping south of the Jabal Sinjar.

[431] He also sent me as a present a golden-brown *aba*, such
•486] as is worn by the Shammar in Hayil. It was to serve as a symbol which would ensure a safe journey for me, and his slave would be my guide.

619 The Shammar and the Tai' Bedouins are hereditary
628 enemies and their pasture lands are always, and were especially now, very dangerous regions in which to wander. Therefore, this was an act of particular courtesy and attention on the part of the old *sheykh* to give me safe conduct to his camp.

574 The following day I bade farewell to the Tai' Bed-
431 ouins. Unfortunately, I could not accept the mare

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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651 Bin Sa'ud has on more than one occasion broken this rule, and has
641 endeavoured to send his tax-gatherers after his tribes into neighbouring states, because he did not approve of his people migrating for summer into adjoining states.)

The case of Mishal al Timiat (Shammar) and his people who camped at Subahiyah in Kuwait in the summer of 1935 is a case in point. Instead of inviting the Shaikh of Kuwait to take the tax, Bin Sa'ud took it himself and upset the local political situation not a little. The Shaikh of Kuwait naturally did not ask for the tax to be paid twice over, as he had the right to do, for it was not worth having a ro . with
651 his powerful neighbour. There is a definite season for taking *ẓakát* throughout Desert Arabia. This is in June and July of each year, when the Badawin have settled on water for the summer. The authorities know they cannot move, so the collection of the tax is easy. At any other time of the year the Badawin would be able, by their mobility, to evade the tax-gatherers.

When the tax-gatherers start on their work, and find "strange" Badawin not yet camped on water, but obviously about to do so, they give them warning and say, "If you intend to come to such and such wells for the summer, you realise that you will have to pay *ẓakát*, don't you? If you are not willing to do this, then better depart at once"; in other words, "either stay and pay, or don't pay and get out."

Although these *ẓakát* customs are as old as the hills, there is nothing to prevent one state, say like Sa'udi Arabia, making a special agreement with another state like Iraq, whereby each state takes *ẓakát* from all tribes of the other state which come wandering into its territories, whether the intention is to make a short sojourn or stay the summer through. Such arrangement would have the obvious advantage of preventing foreign tribes from crossing the border to evade payment of home *ẓakát*.

KHÁWAH

(only paid by inferior tribes and caravans to superior ones)

651 *Kháwah* is a sort of *insurance tax* paid by strangers who enter
● 486 territory which is not theirs. For instance, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe

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Muntafiq

Insurance Tax

entering Harb country in Sa'udi Arabia would pay *khâwah* to the Shaikh of the Harb. The tax would consist of a few sheep, possibly some *dehen* (clarified butter) also, and usually is a fee agreed upon. With the rise of Bin Sa'ud, the taking of *khâwah* has been officially banned, but it continues nevertheless *sub rosa*. The Iraq Government are said to be also trying to abolish the tax and follow in Bin Sa'ud's footsteps. Whether they will succeed or not is as yet uncertain (1936).

A caravan passing through a great tribe's territory would also before the rise of Bin Sa'ud have paid *khâwah*. On one occasion the 'Ajman and Bani Hajir tribes blockaded Kuwait because Qasim merchants refused to pay them this *khâwah*. This was in Mubarak's time, and he retaliated by forbidding 'Ajman *musâbilah*, that is, he prevented them from coming up and buying supplies in Kuwait town, and arranged with Zubair and Jubail to do the same. The payment of *khâwah* entitles the payer to protection.

DHABÎHAH AND MANÎHAH ("SHEEP AND SERVICE")

(only paid by inferior tribes to superior tribes)

A curious custom has its origin in the days of Shabib al Sa'adun, the ancestor of the present family of that name and shaikhs of the Muntafiq. When Shabib first entered Iraq and settled in 'Ajwad country (Gharaf), his son happened to get killed by some shepherd tribes. Being anxious to strengthen his position he refused to take a life for a life, or to accept blood money, but made a condition that (1) he should never be required to rise if any 'Ajwad shaikh entered his presence; (2) that every shaikh should kiss his cheek or shoulder and their sons his knee or his feet, according to seniority; (3) that when he went among the 'Ajwad tribes they should always provide free his requirements of sheep's milk, wool, or young male lambs, for food.

The 'Ajwad tribes of the Gharaf gladly agreed, and the term *Dhabîhah wa Manîhah* was applied to the conditions imposed by Shabib al Sa'adun, which interpreted means *sheep and service*.

To-day *dhabîhah wa manîhah* is well understood in North-East Arabia and has become a recognised custom among shepherd tribes. For example, a Muntafiq shepherd tribe enters Kuwait in search of

151 721 followed these tracks for about two hundred yards. He then came back to us and said that fifteen Awamir from the north had raided the Junuba near the southern coast, lifted three of their camels, watered at a certain well, and passed this way twelve days before. I myself could not have been certain that the tracks were even the tracks of camels, they were so blown by the wind, but he had read the whole story. We had been out of touch with all Arabs for over a month, but when we met Badu they confirmed that this raid had taken place exactly as he had said. It is, however, a mistake to think that all Badu can track. Some of them are as bad at tracking as they are at guiding, but when you meet a good tracker or a good guide his skill is uncanny.

181 577 609 574 You might think that a life like this, where to keep alive at all is only just possible, was bound to degenerate into a brutish struggle for survival. But this is not so. These Badu are, it is true, hard and ruthless, avaricious and impatient of restraint, yet no people are so generous. They will give away their clothes literally from off their backs, and they are brave, loyal to each other, courteous, patient, and unselfish. I have spent the greater part of the last five years with them, and I have found it hard indeed to live up to their standards of decency. Arab hospitality is famous, but I wonder if you realize what it implies. The Badu do not ask someone to dinner when they have got something extra or when they feel inclined. One or two or half a dozen people are travelling past, see an encampment, and decide to spend the night there, for the traveller in the desert takes a free meal of anyone he sees. The host and his family are probably almost starving, yet everything they have is routed out and set before their self-invited guests, whom they may never have seen before, and if possible they will slaughter an animal for their dinner. I have often received this hospitality, and even now it makes me uncomfortable, though my host has sent me away in the morning feeling that it really was I who had conferred a kindness on him. Of course, another time it is one's host who is travelling and taking meals off someone else, so it evens up, I suppose. But it is not that; it is the wonderful, open-hearted, ungrudging way in which they do it. I am afraid I have always resented the sight of unwanted guests when we were short of food.

576 264 [271] 576 ● [486] 577 When travelling they always divide up their food before each meal and then draw lots for it, otherwise there is invariably an argument, never because someone says he has been given too little, but because he maintains that he has received too much. Among semi-settled Arabs, where the strict Badu conventions are not necessarily observed, you soon see how quickly it is resented when someone always takes the largest piece. Once we reached a well after we had been twenty-four hours without water, yet no one would drink when we arrived because some of our party had lingered behind to graze their camels, and they would only drink when everyone was there. The bond which exists between travelling companions is indeed tremendously strong; it is only this which makes travelling possible at all. If you are accompanied by a tribesman from a hostile tribe, you are safe from that tribe while he is with you, and he would fight in your defence even against his own brothers. To betray a companion is the blackest crime which a Badu can commit; but it goes

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greater Emirs or the Grand Sherif. These tribes are not only controlled to some extent and directed to a common policy, but also have a tradition of self-respect, which ensures the observance of the Bedouin code of hospitality. As Doughty has well said, what stands to a Bedouin for religion is that which men will think of him. Fortunately the fame of a lavish entertainer and a protector of the guest is a condition of nobility among Bedouins; and an appeal against any action inconsistent with this will seldom be disregarded. A properly authorized stranger, whatever his creed, should have little to fear under ordinary circumstances among such tribes as the Shammar, the Ateibah, the Wuld 'Ali, or the Ruweilah.

What, however, does proper authority mean to the ordinary Bedouin? Not the exhibition of any passport or other written document. Letters from the chief Emirs, the Grand Sherif, or other great sheikhs are very valuable if the traveller is passing from one of them to another; but in ninety out of a hundred desert camps he will find no one who can read or will respect paper. The one thing needful is a *rafīq*, i. e. a companion derived from the tribe through whose range one must pass, or from some tribe allied with it or authorized to share its range. If possible, he should be a man of importance whose face will be recognized instantly by the desert men—a race which, like other unlettered races, keeps a long memory for faces and a very wide knowledge of personalities. Still better if he has been attached to the traveller by some well-known chief. The *rafīq* must be kept well in evidence and to the fore in case of such a sudden attack as Shakespear experienced at the hands of the Ateibah in Woshm, when a good deal of harm was done before his *rafīq* could make himself known in the night to the raiders. In territories controlled by a central authority, e. g. a sovereign Emir, a well-known man from the centre may suffice throughout; but even then it is better to take a *rafīq* from tribe to tribe. There are one or two denominations of Arabs who are franked by all tribes and can themselves conduct a traveller anywhere in more or less security; but it is rather less than more. Such are the *'Uqeil* (Ageyl)—recognized carriers—and the *Sulubba* (Solubba)—tinkers, medical magicians, hunters—whom no one molests. But travelling with such folk entails the disadvantage that one must go where they wish to go and at their pace; and in disturbed districts near frontiers their aegis is not to be relied upon.

The efficacy of the *rafīq* system is based on the recognition that a particular range or dīra (*dīrah*) appertains to each tribe, and even to each main section of a tribe. Tribes sometimes hold their dīras in common, as the 'Ajmān and Beni Khālid are said to do at present in

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609 northern Hasa; and there are certain districts, containing but few
486 wells, where several tribes, each having a right of watering, cross and recross each other's dīras, without committing thereby acts of trespass, though not without engendering frequent friction. Such, for example, are the steppe west of Jebel Shammar and that north-east of the same district towards the lower Euphrates valley. For the right of crossing a dīra the traveller is expected to pay in money or kind to the chief, who often drives a very hard bargain, but should not be regarded as levying blackmail. After all, in return for the payment, he and his tribe concede protection and allow the traveller to consume some of their very scanty supply of fodder and
621 water. All Arab society is patriarchal. Some one man can answer for each unit, and among the best Arabs for very large units. The traveller's chief danger arises where tribes are small or so broken up that not more than one or two families recognize a chief.

486 There is, however, one recognized exception to this sanctity of
721 dīras, namely, the right of every tribe, or even section of a tribe, to
577 raid any other according to a well-established code of warfare, unless barred by definite federation, treaty, or ancient friendship. To go
621 out on raid (*ghazwah*) is the young man's chance of proving himself, and to provide him with that opportunity is virtually obligatory on all tribes, except the meanest. The greater chiefs, like their ancient cousins, the Assyrian kings, make an annual practice of the Raid. The farther afield it goes, the greater the glory in a society punctiliously sensitive to public opinion. Raiding parties may, therefore, be met very far from the ranges of their own people, and no district is quite safe from them. They may generally be recognized by their travelling light, without women, and on high-bred camels. The *rafiq* is powerless against them in his own dīra, except possibly through some lucky friendship on his part or the repute of his tribe. But raiding parties are not very particular. They will swoop down on a caravan without asking many questions or being much disposed to respect persons. Unless the traveller's party is very decidedly stronger than the attack, it should submit at once. Most of its belongings will be taken, but no life. Such submission is a well-recognized part of the game, and entails no slur on the courage of any members of the party.

486 The more the traveller can learn and retain in his mind of the
181 genealogy of individuals and tribes, in a land where pedigrees are very widely known back to a hoar antiquity and inordinately valued,
574 the better for his safety and the impression he will make and leave on his hosts. He should know also, as far as possible, the political grouping of tribes and recent desert history. If, like Doughty, he

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travels *in forma pauperis*, he can avail himself, more than one who takes his own tents and servants, of the protection which Arab usage enjoins a Bedouin to extend to one who has touched as suppliant any part of his tent or belongings or eaten of his food. Strictly the efficacy of the last safeguard expires on the third day, when all that was eaten on the first is supposed to have passed out of the body. It is often worth while to appeal from the men to the women, whose instincts of hospitality, independence, and freedom of action are pleasing features of Bedouin life.

It is worth while to remember that no Bedouin society is wholly self-supporting. Even if it can supply itself with sheer food from its own dîra, or some purely Arabian oasis—which it rarely can—it is dependent on the outer world for other necessaries, as well as for any sort of simple luxury. Clothing materials, coffee, tobacco, and, to a great extent, arms and munitions can only reach it from ports, or from the settled districts on the fringes of Arabia. Those, therefore, who control such ports or districts can always exercise an influence upon the desert men, however inaccessible, command their behaviour in the long run, and punish their hostility.

From a military point of view Bedouins make very valueless auxiliaries of trained troops, except as scouts and raiders, or, if long, hot, and waterless stages have to be covered, as messengers.

Settled Folk.

The principal settlements will be dealt with in the special chapters on localities (see Chaps. IV ff.), followed by detailed descriptions of the tribes themselves (see Chaps. XIII ff.)

The ubiquity of nomads in Arabia explains and partly excuses common ignorance about the real extent and importance of its urban and village societies. To say that all the Arabs of the peninsula are Bedouins, or that its society is either nomadic or semi-nomadic, is far from the truth. Not only do the fertile coastal districts in the south-east and south-west of the peninsula contain numerous urban and village communities, rooted to the soil and engaged in agriculture and trade, while the goals of the Pilgrimage, Mecca and Medina, with the port of Jiddah, are considerable towns; but, as has already been pointed out, the three groups of oases in the centre support urban settlements, several of which have over 5,000 inhabitants apiece, besides many agricultural villages, large and small.

It is, however, true that all settled communities in Arabia are affected, in various degrees, by the nomad society, which is never far from them, and often surrounds them. There is much intermarriage between the settled and the unsettled folk: chiefs and